

CIVIL RIGHTS

AND

AMERICAN

SOCIETY

Resolution on Civil Rights

of the YOUNG ~~PEOPLES~~ SOCIALIST LEAGUE (Youth Section, SP-SDF)
303 Fourth Avenue, Room 516, New York 10, New York

CIVIL RIGHTS RESOLUTION

by

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(Adopted at the 1961 annual convention of the Young People's Socialist League at Southaven, Michigan, August 30, 1961)

The Young People's Socialist League reaffirms the view, which has been the basis of its policy in recent years, that Civil Rights remains the foremost domestic issue of our time. If anything fresh and promising has appeared on the American scene since the mid-Fifties, it has not been our ventures into space, or the fashionable debates on "national purpose," or the still largely uncharted course of the "new frontier." It has been rather the pressing upsurge of American Negroes demanding rights that are Constitutionally theirs and that are being sought with increasing vigor by hundreds of millions on other continents. We reject categorically the notion that these rights can be in any way compromised in the name of progress on other fronts. Ultimately, in measuring any society, all questions are peripheral to this: to what extent is the democratic ideal operative? Whatever else our government has said or done, its failure to root out the barbaric practice of racial segregation and exploitation that prevails with legal sanction in large areas of our country makes a mockery of our declarations for freedom abroad. It is no mystery that American prestige should be declining precisely in those quarters where democratic revolutionary movements are growing, so long as it is evident that those who are truly fighting for democracy are less numerous in the halls of our Congress than in the jails of the South.

As an organization of students and young people, we are especially proud of the lead that Southern students have taken in the struggle. Placing their bodies where others have long directed only pronouncements, Negro students and their white supporters have rejuvenated the entire civil rights movement and stimulated assaults on new racial barriers. The sit-in movement quietly begun in Greensboro on February 1st, 1960, has been prodigiously successful, integrating hundreds of lunch-counters in more than 60 cities. Those who have deprecated the nonviolent direct action method can boast of no comparable achievement.

The YPSL is also proud of the role that its members have played in developing support for the Southern movement in various parts of the country and in initiating direct action assaults against Jim Crow in non-Southern cities. Our members have suffered violence

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at the hands of racists and they have been imprisoned. They have sat-in, knelt-in, and waded in. In cities from coast to coast they have organized picket lines and protest meetings.

Moreover, we did not count ourselves among those who saw the sit-ins as an ephemeral phenomenon, but understood their deep roots in the discontent of the Negro, especially apparent in those for whom the caste system has become more than intolerable - the students. Aspiring in the main to the essentially middle-class goals of most Americans and feeling at least as qualified, by virtue of education, as the average white person, the Negro student has been especially frustrated by the Jim Crow barriers. In protest he has turned to a technique of which we took note in our Civil Rights Resolution of 1959; direct mass action executed outside of the framework of the two political parties.

That the initial impact of the sit-ins would diminish was predictable. Evidence suggests that powerful elements among the American press have conspired to black out dramatic developments in the sit-in movement. The fact is that the movement has entered a new phase. It has expanded during the past year, moving from lunch-counters to theatres, to libraries, to beaches, to churches, to amusement parks, and to companies that discriminate against Negroes in their hiring policies. It has spread northward to Chicago and New York City, where members of the YPSL helped to organize a sit-in at the offices of Paramount Theatres president, Leonard Goldenson, which aided in the integration of Paramount's theatre in Austin, Texas. Most important of all, the sit-ins have moved into the Deep South, where, finally, the structure of segregation must be destroyed if real progress toward integration is to be made elsewhere.

In addition, the sit-in movement has profoundly affected student activity in areas other than Civil Rights. There is no question but that the students demonstrating against the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco were extending the tactics elaborated by Southern Negroes. It is to the Southern Negro students that we must credit the greater part of the resurgence in social consciousness and activity that has been witnessed on campuses throughout the country. Like the students of Japan, Poland, Turkey, Hungary and South Korea, the Negro students have taken the lead in the struggle for democracy.

Out of the action-oriented climate generated by the spontaneous sit-ins have sprung the Freedom Rides, initiated by the Congress of Racial Equality, and joined by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference. We congratulate CORE and the other groups who organized the Freedom Rides, and we salute the heroic Freedom Riders themselves. In abiding by the Supreme Court's 1946 ban on segregation in interstate travel, they have subjected themselves to unbelievable violence bordering on mass murder. They have stripped the South of its mask of peaceful gentility and exposed for all to see the naked brutality that flourishes in the midst of segregation. Anniston, Birmingham, Jackson - - these have joined Little Rock and Rock Hill as symbols from which the great masses of mankind in our time are recoiling. Particularly horrifying was the role of the local police, who in refusing protection to the Freedom Riders, deliberately provoked rabid mobs to inflict the violence that normally the Southern police themselves inflict. No more can it be convincingly argued -- it never could be -- that the Dixie state apparatus functions as a moderator among contending forces, seeking only to preserve law and order. No longer can we refuse to recognize the necessity for the dismantlement and political reconstruction of the Southern state through the complete franchisement of the Southern Negro.

We do not take seriously the attacks on the Freedom Riders as "outsiders." On purely technical grounds, the Freedom Riders were not seeking the integration of "local" institutions, but of facilities sustained by interstate travelers. They were not, therefore, "interfering." But even if this were not the case, we are committed to the defense of democracy wherever it is challenged. Those who would condemn rightly, the suppression of democratic liberties behind the Iron Curtain cannot consistently condone the right of the segregationists to maintain their quaint local customs here. We shall rise or fall as a nation, not as separate states and cities. Moreover, segregated schools and other institutions in the South are recipients of federal aid, paid for by nationally levied taxes; Southern industry and commerce is bound up with the national economy generally, to which all citizens contribute; the influence of Southern politicians in the halls of Congress and other agencies of government, effects us all. Southern segregationists officials can no more assert their independence of the Constitution and the Supreme Court than they can reverse the outcome of the Civil War. In these years of the Civil War Centennial they are attempting to do both. This has been possible only because of the grip they have taken on our national political life.

Some liberals have condemned the Freedom Riders on the grounds that they have provoked violence, though unintentionally. In our view, the Freedom Riders have but brought to the surface and themselves heroically absorbed the festering violence that has always been deeply imbedded in the Deep South. As humanitarians, we deplore violence -- all the more when it is directed against our friends. At the same time, we recognize degrees and kinds of violence, and we see that which is built into the very structure of segregation -- physical and psychological -- as infinitely more destructive than that arising out of the Freedom Rides.

Equally do we reject Administration pressure for a "cooling off" period. It is inconceivable to us that this nation stands anything to gain from an abatement of direct action for the attainment of full democratic rights. The international embarrassment suffered by the government as a result of the mob violence at Birmingham and Anniston is not to be laid to the Freedom Riders. We suggest to the President that he could have strengthened U.S. prestige abroad had he, upon arriving in Geneva, declared his unequivocal support for the Freedom Riders. We note, too, that demands for a "cooling off" period have been directed primarily to the Negro Community and its efforts at integration. We join with Dr. Martin Luther King in insisting that these demands be directed toward the white hot segregationists who whip up their constituents to violence with inflammatory speeches promising maintenance to the death of that which can no longer be maintained.

The efforts of Senator Eastland and other racists to brand the Freedom Riders as "Communist organized" is a mark of the desperation of the segregationists' cause. Such slanders will find credibility only among those who would shut their eyes to the legitimate demands of the Negro people. Senator Eastland and his ilk, in seeking to credit Communists with the organization of the Freedom Rides, have rendered the international Communist movement a great service. Not even its most vigorous supporters could have so effectively adorned it in the eyes of the world.

While we give all out support to the Freedom Rides and work for their continuation, we simultaneously recognize that in the last analysis their success will be determined by the extent to which they stimulate activity on the part of the masses of Negroes who live in the South. It is encouraging that scores of Jackson Negro residents have joined the Freedom Riders in jail, and that indigenous protest activity has been heightened in other communities affected by the Freedom Riders. This is where hope lies. As Socialists, we regard as limited, though preparatory, those efforts involving primarily specialists either in the legal field or in the field of direct action. To avoid elitist developments,

our aim must be always to broaden the base of the movement and to stimulate mass action. The vast potential of the movement will not be fulfilled until the great mass of unorganized working-class Negroes are actively mobilized. Freedom Rides must lead to more Montgomerys. This is true not only in the South but in the North as well. We cannot agree with those who maintain that race relations in the North are on a par with those in the South, where segregation helps sustain a reactionary political ruling class and guarantees slave-labor profits for runaway industries. Nonetheless, the housing and unemployment problems Negroes face in the North are also susceptible to direct action remedies. Desegregation can proceed but so far in the South so long as New Rochelle is in the headlines. The most effective support we can give to the Southern struggle is by way of extending the mass direct action movement northward.

The NAACP

The Young Peoples Socialist League reaffirms its support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which remains the central organization of Negro protest in the United States. We congratulate the NAACP on its membership growth in recent years and urge members of YPSL to participate in NAACP youth activities. The NAACP's court victories have made an invaluable contribution to the overall progress of the movement, and constitute an integral part of the dramatic advances that have been made in the last five years. We urge those who criticize the NAACP for being too slow, or too bureaucratic, or too limited in scope, to give meaning to their criticisms through increased participation in the activities of the Association. Only through greater, not less participation, can militants help to effect the changes in policy they advocate. At the same time, it would be a disservice to the NAACP to mute such criticism.

The success of the direct action technique in recent years has incontestably demonstrated that the movement cannot afford to limit itself to litigation or to any other single tactic. The 1954 Supreme Court decision banning school segregation has been all but eviscerated. Since the decision, only 7% of formerly segregated Negro students have been affected. Token integration, a more subtle and evasive evil, has replaced total segregation, largely with the acquiescence of the Supreme Court. The 1946 decision outlawing segregation in interstate travel was never put into effect; only now after the Freedom Rides is the Interstate Commerce Commission likely to enforce the ruling. It is improbable that the desegregation of hundreds of lunch counters and other public facilities could have been accomplished through litigation: even if favorable court rulings had been forthcoming, their enforcement would doubtless have proved impossible.

None of this is intended to suggest that litigation is useless or outmoded, only that the movement has entered a new phase since 1954. The principle of racial equality has been enunciated by the courts; the task now is to make that principle operative as well. To do so will require not only the continuation of litigation, but of community action as well. This will require pressure on the part of the NAACP membership to swing the organization toward developing individual and mass direct action projects. Such policies would best be directed at the local level.

The Congress of Racial Equality

We congratulate CORE on the tremendous strides it has made since its inception almost 20 years ago. Though still a predominantly white organization based in the North, CORE has won the adherence of an increasing number of Negroes to its methods of non-violent direct action. It has pioneered in new forms of action against Jim Crow and in doing so has caught the imagination of thousands. Despite the fact that CORE has not developed any significant base in the Negro community, we enthusiastically urge all members and

friends of the Young Peoples Socialist League to join CORE and to participate energetically in its activities. Of all the organizations in the field, CORE at present provides northern young people with probably the best opportunities for effective civil rights action. In the Congress of Racial Equality, as in other organizations in which we are active, YPSL's participate as loyal members and accept CORE discipline.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference

The establishment in 1957 of the SCLC led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. symbolized the shift of Negro leadership to the South for the first time since the days of Booker T. Washington. This is one of the most promising aspects of the growing Southern struggle.

The potential strength of the SCLC, which it has not exploited, lies in its Negro church base. Historically, the church has been the only institution evolved in the Negro community that is independent of white control, and thus has performed political, social and economic functions which in the white community are assigned to other institutions. Those who decry the leadership of ministers in the Negro's struggle must bear in mind this multifunctional character of the Negro church as it has grown up in a segregated society. Opposition to the emphasis on religion in the secular fight of the Negro must not be permitted to obscure an understanding of where it is that Negroes can be organized today in large numbers. In the absence of any serious trade union organization drive among Southern Negroes, the church will likely continue to be the center of organized Negro life in the South, and thus the center of the movement for some time to come.

In the tradition of the Negro church, Dr. King and the SCLC have been the leading exponent of nonviolence in the movement, and have had the closest relationship with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating committee, made up of students' sit-in leaders from all over the South. These are the forces, indigenous to the South, who have been on the firing line and who have given the lie once and for all to the comfortable Southern myth of the contented Negro. Their reliance on nonviolence at the peril of life, has pointed up by contrast, the moral bankruptcy and desperation of the segregationist cause.

Although the YPSL as an organization, takes no official position with regard to the principle of nonviolence as applicable to all situations, the tactic of nonviolence appears to us the most appropriate and feasible for the growth of a mass movement among Negroes in the South. Whether an individual resorts to violence in self-defense is a matter of personal choice and preparedness, and cannot be dictated by others. It is doubtful, however, that large numbers of Negroes can be mobilized around a program of violence. Our disagreement with those who advocate violence as a matter of program is not that they violate a moral principle, but that in effect they would reduce a movement of mass dimensions and vast potential to a guerilla operation. We cannot, for example, see how it would be possible to register millions of Negro voters in the South through such programs as proponents of violence might advocate. In this connection, we are heartened by Dr. King's recent announcement that thousands of Negroes will be mobilized for stand-ins at the polls in the near future. When such a mobilization materializes, it will strike at the very heart of the political structure that nourishes segregation in the South.

The Negro American Labor Council

The Young People's Socialist League vigorously reaffirms its support of the Negro American Labor Council, organized under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph. At the present time, it alone of the adult integrationist organizations is seeking actively to develop a program aimed at the Negro working-class. Moreover, in its dedication to the labor movement, it

has emphasized the necessity for a strong Negro-Labor alliance as a key to the advance of the Negro people. As Socialists, we strongly favor this conception and look forward to the time when it will become a more powerful motivating force in both the Negro community and the labor movement.

Those in the official labor movement and the liberal community in general who have attacked the NALC as black chauvinist have, in our view, failed to understand the character of the rising tide of the black man's protest in America. We cannot in the name of integration deny Negroes the right to organize as Negroes, independently of whites, any more than we can justifiably demand the dissolution of the Jewish Labor Committee, or the Italian American Labor Council. The charge of chauvinism or anti-unionism no more applies to the NALC than to these groups. While we call for the increased participation of whites in all phases of the civil rights movement, we must recognize that ultimately the fight for racial equality in this country must be based primarily on Negroes and led by Negroes. Just as Southern Negro students have organized independently of whites, though calling for white support, and have maintained control over the direction of their movement, in like manner are Negro trade unionists pressing for racial democracy in the house of labor. It is all too easy in our segregated society for those who have failed to move radically against the roots of segregation to level the charge of racism-in-reverse.

Equally specious is the charge that the NALC is anti-labor. All of its criticisms of the AFL-CIO have been set in the context of overall support to the labor movement and participation in it. These criticisms come from within labor movement, from Negro trade unionists, and not from without - in contrast to those who, in attacking the labor movement for its failure to wipe out the vestiges of segregation and discrimination within its ranks, would overlook the fact that no comparable institution in American society has so frequently been on the right side of the race issue.

It is precisely because we, as Socialists, look to the labor movement as the most fundamental force for a democratic transformation of our society, that we also support the Negro American Labor Council. Only when the labor movement extirpates all traces of Jim Crow will it win the respect of the Negro community; only then can it hope to appeal to the masses of Negro workers who are as yet outside of the trade unions. This is a prerequisite for the organization of the South, and the organization of the South is a prerequisite for the reversal of the present decline of the labor movement in numbers and prestige.

We believe that it would be a mistake for the NALC to concentrate its fire on the labor movement to the exclusion of business and government, which are more often responsible for discriminatory job policies than labor, though such policies are more reprehensive when acquiesced to by labor. Enormous possibilities for cooperation between the NALC and the AFL-CIO would be opened by common battle against the discriminatory practices of government and big business -- common battle which would in no way obscure or compromise the NALC's demands upon the labor movement itself. It is also to be hoped that an expanded and strengthened NALC might be able to devote some of its resources to organizing Negro workers in the South, thereby prodding the AFL-CIO to launch a new "Operation Dixie."

The Rising Tide of Nationalism

There is a rising tide of nationalism in the Negro community and this expresses itself not only in the growth in avowedly black nationalist groups in urban Negro centers, but in a spirit which tinges the militance of groups that do not necessarily espouse black

nationalist programs. At the same time that the YPSL categorically rejects racism of any variety and opposes the separation of the races as incompatible with the socialist ideal, we seek to understand the character of black nationalism and its roots in our segregated society. Moreover, we reject the simplistic description of black nationalism as an aberration on a par with white supremacy. The two serve different social functions. There is a qualitative difference between the chauvinism adopted by an exploited and oppressed group for the purpose of counteracting inferiority feelings, and that adopted by the exploiting and oppressor group for the purpose of maintaining its rule.

The Black Muslims, largest of the nationalist groups, is the fastest growing social movement among Negroes today. Conservative estimates place its membership at 100,000 --- 1/3 that of the NAACP. Further, its membership is almost entirely working class. There seems little reason to question the predictions of the Muslim leaders that hundreds of thousands more will join their ranks in the next decade and that the Muslims will officially be recognized as an orthodox religion by International Islam. The army being trained by the Muslims has already presented a problem to police in cities where they are strong, and the group's potential political power has been recognized by city political figures.

Neither as an ideal nor a practical possibility can we accept the Black Muslim's goal of a "Black Nation" on the North American continent. Nor can we regard as a feasible solution to the racial problems a mass migration of Negroes to Africa or anywhere else. The Utopian and millenarian content of the Muslim's preachments indicates that their strength is not programmatic but psychological. The amazing growth of the Muslims is possible only because large numbers of Negroes have become convinced that the white man, whatever he says, will not yield to integration. It is interesting that the movement has flourished to date not primarily in the South, but in Northern urban centers where liberalism is strongest. It is here that the promise has been made and broken; in the South it has never been made. We see the Black Muslim movement as the product of our nation's failure to put into practice the ideals which it exports for consumption abroad. It is the product of tokenism and evasion. Persecution of the Muslims by the FBI and local police is not the answer to the problem they symbolize. The answer is an all-out assault on racial segregation and exploitation.

Responsibility for the growth of the Black Muslims and other nationalist groups also rests with the adult integrationist organizations. Their failure to make contact with and mobilize the mass of unorganized and frustrated working-class Negroes who are crowded into the slums of our cities and deprived of decent job opportunities - this has created a vacuum which the Muslims are trying to fill. The integration of downtown lunchcounters, theatres, restaurants, hotels and amusement parks cannot meet the needs of those who do not have the money to utilize these facilities. It is irrelevant to dismiss the nationalists as charlatans and quacks. If charlatans and quacks can take to the streetcorners and recruit thousands of disciplined followers to a mystical program, surely intelligent and sincere integration leaders, armed with a sound program and perspective, ought to be able to do as well. At present only the Negro American Labor Council appears to be cognizant of the necessity for developing a mass action program aimed at the bread-and-butter needs of the working class Negro community.

The Kennedy Administration

In the face of the increasing militance of the civil rights forces, the Kennedy Administration has played a dual role. The general sluggishness and indifference of the Eisenhower Administration has, on the surface, given way to a new spirit of concern. The deepening of Negro protest actions over the past year, combined with the new

Administration's heightened sensitivity to the nation's waning international image, has wrought new concessions from the Federal Government, particularly from the Executive Branch. Suits brought by the Justice Department to stay the eviction of the embattled Negroes of Fayette County, who suffered severe economic reprisals as a result of their efforts to register and vote, and to compel the re-opening of public schools in Prince Edward County are to be applauded. The action of the Attorney-General in sending federal marshalls and FBI agents into Alabama and Mississippi to protect Freedom Riders from mob violence was also a laudable, though belated move. The Executive Order establishing the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity represents a significant, though cautious and still inadequate, advance over the farcical anti-job bias apparatus of the Eisenhower Administration. Moreover, the Kennedy Administration has appointed more Negroes to federal posts than any previous administration.

These, to date, comprise the achievements of the Kennedy Administration in the realm of civil rights. Yet, however much of an improvement they signify over the passivity of the Eisenhower era, they do not begin to deal with the fundamental problems facing the Negro people today. In actuality, they have served to divert attention from these fundamental problems and thus to maintain intact the coalition of Southern reactionaries and Northern liberals that comprises the Democratic Party.

That Kennedy was disinclined to disrupt that coalition was evident from his choice of Lyndon Johnson as his running mate. Succeeding events have confirmed the trends signaled by that choice. Since the Los Angeles convention, it has transpired that Kennedy's road to the Presidential nomination has been paved with promises and agreements made with Southern racists, notably Governor Patterson of Alabama. Part of Kennedy's deal with Patterson had included the appointment of Charles Meriweather as head of the Import Export Bank, a central agency in the dispersal of U. S. funds to underdeveloped - and mainly non-white - nations. Kennedy refused to withdraw Meriweather's nomination even after it had been brought out that Meriweather was a close personal and political friend of Robert Shelton, leader of the Klu. Klux. Klan, who later allegedly directed from behind the scenes the mob violence directed against the Freedom Riders in Birmingham. Further, the appointment of Harold Cox, a rabid segregationist and cohort of Senator Eastland, as Federal Judge for southern Mississippi at the same time that scores of Freedom Riders were being sentenced in Jackson to jail terms for obeying the Supreme Court ban on segregation in interstate travel, demonstrates the essential duplicity of the Kennedy Administration in its declarations of support for civil rights. Ironically one of Judge Cox's first moves in his new post (August 14, N.Y. Times) was to discontinue proceedings on a Government suit on behalf of Negroes denied applications to register in Clarke County.

At the basis of this duplicity is not the personal attitudes or intentions of his advisors with regard to racial equality. Analyses and prognoses that turn on such speculations and on "inside tips" - these are abundant today - are inevitably misleading. At the basis of the new Administration's duplicity is an arrangement of political forces that has prevailed in this country for decades. Its most powerful expression is the structure of the Democratic Party, which remains today, no less than before, an unprincipled union of irreconcilable interests: on the one hand, the representatives of the racist Southern oligarchy, resting on the segregation, exploitation and disenfranchisement of the Negro; and, on the other hand, the representatives of the liberal, labor and Negro forces based in the urban centers and powers, and the hard-pressed small farmers of the Midwest. Just as the Southern Democrats vehemently denounce and block attempts to grant the Negro his Constitutional rights, so do they also fight uncompromisingly against labor's efforts to organize, especially in the South and West, against higher minimum wages, social security, medical care for the aged and other social welfare legislation. Some may hail this coalition of opposites as evidence of the

healthy disagreement" that obtain in the Democratic Party. We, however, can see little that is healthy in an inbuilt bottleneck against the expansion of human welfare and democracy.

Nowhere has this bottleneck operated so effectively as in the area of civil rights legislation. So long as we lack an anti-lynch law, legislation to put teeth into the Supreme Court decisions, Congressional action on voting rights, etc., it is cruel hypocrisy for the President to state, as he has, that there is no need for further civil rights legislation at the present time. Even as a matter of practical politics, Kennedy's tactic of holding back of civil rights legislation in order to win approval of other legislation has not paid off. Neither the President's aid to education bill nor his foreign aid program has escaped reactionary Congressional fire. The minimum wage bill was passed only after it eliminated 140,000 laundry workers, mostly low-paid Negroes, and employees of cotton mills. The \$2,550,000 education bill that cleared the Senate will be of little benefit to Southern Negroes - most in need of such aid - so long as the funds are dispersed by racist state officials. Of what use is social welfare legislation if it does not cover those who need it most? It is clear that until major advances are made in civil rights, social welfare will have only superficial meaning for the American Negro, and this cannot be of genuine value to the nation at large.

It is precisely because of their role in the Democratic Party that the Racist Southern Congressmen have been able to seize control of the vital committees of both houses and thereby wield such enormous influence over the political life of the nation. Elected again and again, usually by minorities in their own states, these men have accumulated top seniority in Congress. The Seniority Rule assigns committee chairmanships to members of the majority party with the most seniority. Thus even the election of a liberal Democrat to Congress helps assure Eastland of continued control over the Senate Judiciary Committee, through which all proposed civil rights legislation must be filtered.

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It is clear that the fight for civil rights cannot be limited to one or two spheres. A fight for the end of segregation in schools necessarily becomes involved with the fight for democracy itself (as in the defense of the NAACP against outlawing in Southern states,) and thus with the nature of political rule in the South - with the whole Southern system. A further example: what happens in Southern cities when a Negro child who has experienced integrated education graduates? A return to the ghetto after a youthful fling with equality? It is obvious that such a situation could have profound effects on the child subjected to it. Real educational integration can become meaningful only with integration in all other spheres of life, particularly housing and employment. In other words, the fight of the Negro cannot

- 1) be confined to working through the courts, but must put pressure on all agencies of government;
- 2) be restricted to the achievement of equality only in education or only in this or that area of life: his demand must be for full economic, political and social equality.

We have noted that despite all of its faults and shortsightedness, the labor movement has been the major white ally of the Negro in his struggle and has, because of its very social nature, goals and interests parallel to those of the Negro. Indeed, though the wedge of racial prejudice may unfortunately come between the Negro and white worker, their common welfare transcends the color line, which has been dimming with the growth of

unionism. In addition, because their interests are parallel, the Negro and labor movements have both been attacked and frustrated by the same enemy: the coalition of conservative Republicans and Southern Dixiecrats.

We must pay great attention to the tensions that exist between the liberal-labor wing and the reactionary elements in the Democratic Party, - and the pressures created by the registration of Southern Negroes. These tensions are the dynamic potential for political realignment in America.

At this point no one can predict the exact outcome of such a struggle. Some expect the Dixiecrats to be forced out and the machine eventually destroyed while others feel that the reactionary elements will cling to the name and structure of the Democratic Party; while the liberal-labor forces will have to adopt a new name. No matter which way the struggle leads, its result will be a split in the Democratic Party and the formation of a new party. This new party may still have the name Democratic Party but it will be recognizable by its real commitment to the progressive forces in the United States and by the fact that it is itself responsive and responsible to these forces.

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